

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EA-11 IO-14 DPW-01 AID-20 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /150 W

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R 230859Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 727

OPRKNFO RUMJIR/AMEMBASSY SAIDON 188

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 0162

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, HU

SUBJECT: VIETNAM--ICCS

REF: BUDAPEST 0161

1. IN MY FIRST GENERAL "INFORMAL" CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY FONMIN NAGY (SEPT-NOAL) I OBSERVED THAT VIETNAM CONTINUED TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT AREA WHERE WHAT HUNGARY SAID AND DID HAD AN IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONSHIP. EXAMPLES COULD BE FOUND IN THEIR RECENT COMMUNIQUE WITH BULGARIA AND THE PRG. WE FELT THAT IN BOTH CASES HUNGARY HAD EXPRESSED A STRONGLY PARTISAN VIEW OF THE ISSUE IN A SITUATION IN WHICH IT HAD UNDERTAKEN A ROLE WHICH REQUIRED IT TO FUNCTION IMPARTIALLY. WE WERE AWARE OF HUNGARY'S SUBSTANTIVE POLICIES ON VIETNAM BUT ITS PARTICULAR ROLE THERE NOW CALLED FOR MORE EVENHANDEDNESS. I ADDED THAT I WONDERED WHY IN A COMMUNIQUE WITH BULGARIA VIETNAM NEEDED TO BE MENTIONED AT ALL.

2. NAGY SAID THAT IT WAS ONLY DUE TO HUNGARIAN EFFORTS THAT THE COMMUNIQUE WITH BULGARIA HAD BEEN AS "VAGUE" AS IT WAS. IT WAS NOT CONCEIVABLE THAT HUNGARY COULD HAVE REFUSED TO INCLUDE

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A PARAGRAPH ON THIS MATTER IN THE

COMMUNIQUE WHEN BULGARIA HAD SUGGESTED IT. BUT
THEY HAD TAKEN THEIR FUNCTION AND OUR VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT
IN THE WORDING.

3. NAGY SAID THAT WHEN US HAD GONE TO AN ICCS OF FOUR
MEMBE*S FROM TWO WE HAD CREATED A BODY OF ITS PRESENT
POLITICAL COMPOSITION. THE ICCS COULD NOT BE MADE RESPONSILE
FOR THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN VIETNAM, OVER WHICH IN REALITY
IT WOULD HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE. IN ANY CASE, THE FACT WAS
THAT SOUTH VIETNAM WAS NOW MILITARILY IN A MUCH SUPERIOR
POSITION AND IF THERE WAS A BASIC PROBLEM IT WAS TO HELP
ENSURE THAT THE DIFFERENCES WOULD STILL BE WORKED OUT BY
PEACEFUL RATHER THAN MILITARY MEANS. HE ADDED THAT WE
SHOULD GIVE MORE SUPPORT TO THE PARIS AGREEMENT PROVISION THAT THERE
WERE TWO GOVERNMENTS, TWO ARMIES AND THREE POLITICAL FORCES
IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

4. I SAID I THOUGHT THERE WERE THREE ASPCTS OF THIS ISSUE?
ONE WAS**OW HUNGARIANS EXPRESSED THEMSELVES. I SAID WE HAD HAD
SAME DIFFICULTI*S WITH POLISH-PRG COMMUNIQUE AS WITH GOH-
PRG ONE AND HAD SO TOLD THE POLES. AT THE SAME TIME I

NOTICED THAT THE POLES HAD NOT MENTIONED US AT
ALL IN COMMUNIQUE OR IN SPEECHES, WHEREAS COMMUNIQUE HERE
INCLUDED EXTENSIVE PRG CRITICISM OF US AND PRESIDENT
HAD CRITICIZED OUR PAST ACTIONS IN A SPEECH. ASIDE FROM
PROBLEMS OO SUBSTANCE OF COMMUNIQUE, THIS WAS ASPECT
I THOUGHT THEY COULD GIVE SOME ATTENTION TO. SECOND WAS
HUMANITARIAN ASPECT. ASIDE FROM ASSISTANCE ON PA'E EMPLOYEE,
HUNGARAN ICCS TEAMS HAD NOT BEE HELPFUL ON HUMANITARIAN MATTERS
SUCH AS RECENT SHOOTING-DOWN OF HELICOPTER. THIRD WAS QUESTION
OF IMPARTIALITY AND OF FULL FUNCTIONINGOF ICCS TEAMS.
I OBSERVED THAT WE HAD PERIODIALLY RAISED
SPECIFIC PROBLEMS CONNECTED WTH THESE PO*NTS HERE AS WELL AS
IN VIETNAM. I SAID I WOULD CONTINUE TO TAKE UP SPECIFICS
WHEN WE HAD THEM WITH MARJAI.

5. NAGY DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY BUT SAID
HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY WE FELT THAT PROBLEM OF VIETNAM
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NEEDED TO AFFECT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE SAID THEY
HAD HAD MANY ARGUMENTS WITH CANADIANS, IRANIANS AND
INDONESIANS IN ICCS BUT IT DID NOT AFFECT THEIR BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIPS. THEY ALSO HAD GONE INTO VIETNAM ONLY
BECAUSE THE PARIS AGREEMENT (AND WE) HAD ASKED THEM TO DO
SO, AND THAT WHEN THEY WENT IN THEIR VIEWS WERE
ALREADY WELL KNOWN. I SAID THAT DIFFERENCE WAS THAT US
INTERESTS WERE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN VIETNAM. IN THESE

CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS NOT THAT WE WERE SEEKING TO MAKE
VIETNAM HAVE AN IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONS BUT THAT IN FACT IT WAS AN
ELEMENT IN THEM WHICH THEY NEEDED TO KEEP IN MIND.

6. COMMENT: AS WITH ALL THESE CONVERSATIONS ON VIETNAM IT IS HARD
TO
TELL WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY EFFECT. HUNGARIANS CONSISTENTLY REPLY THAT

THEY ARE PERFORMING THE ROLE IN VIETNAM THAT THEY HAVE TO AND THAT
THEY

HOPE WE WILL UNDERSTAND THAT FACT. AT THE SAME TIME, I THINK THEY
AT LEAST LISTEN TO THE POINTS DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE US AND I STILL
HOPE WE CAN BRING ABOUT SOME MODIFICATIONS, AT LEAST WITH RESPECT
TO US. IN*THE

PAST FEW MONTHS, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE REPRODUCED NORTH VIETNAMESE AND
PRG CHARGES AGAINST THE US, THERE HAS BEEN NO, OR VIRTUALLY NO,
DIRECT CRITICISM OF CURRENT US POLICY IN VIETNAM IN HUNGARIAN PRESS.
WE BELIEVE OUR EARLIER COMMENTS ON SUCH CRITICISM HELPED ON THIS.
CHANGE IN BEHAVIOR IN ICCS ITSELF WILL BE MUCH HARDER TO BRING ABOUT.
PEDERSEN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JAN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BUDAPE00162
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740122/aaaaausw.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BUDAPEST 0161
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 APR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <10 JUN 2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VIETNAM--ICCS
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, HU, ICCS
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005